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ABSTRACT

This bibliography lists 40 books and 18 periodical articles, published between 1954 and 1976, which deal with accountability and responsibility in governmental-political communication. Most of the works were written after 1970. The topics covered include: ethically suspect communication practices of the federal government, both prior to and during the Watergate era; ethics and techniques of political campaigning; research in political communication; presidential power and accountability; the ethics and control of propaganda; the philosophy of communication; and the communications structure in contemporary America. (GW)

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ACCOUNTABILITY AND RESPONSIBILITY IN GOVERNMENTAL-POLITICAL COMMUNICATION: A SELECTED ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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BOOKS

Barron, Jerome A. Freedom of the Press for Whom? Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973.

An insightful treatment of the legal issues raised by citizen group attempts to achieve access to the media. Barron's documentation of media restriction is selective, but strong.

Barry, Brian. Political Argument. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965. A classic theoretical treatise on the foundations and applications of value principles in public policy argumentation.

Bernstein, Carl and Bob Woodward. All the President's Men, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974.

Perhaps the paradigm journalistic inquiry into the Nixon administration's use and mis-management of the media.

Bernstein, Carl and Bob Woodward. The Final Days, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1976.

An equally definitive, though more controversial, account of the last days in the public life of the Nixon administration documented above. Both works are interesting not only as popular history, but also as illustrations of positivistic assumptions about "facts" and acts of "faith" in selective, self-serving sources.

Chaffee, Steven H. Political Communication: Issues and Strategies for Research, Chaffee ed. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1975.

A useful volume, containing integrated summaries of the most promising recent empirical research. Both the editor and the authors of separate studies acknowledge that the cumulative impact of such research is hampered due to the lack of a refined conceptual base.

Deutsch, Karl. The Nerves of Government. New York: The Free Press, 1966.

An ambitious attempt to create an inclusive cybernetic model of political communication, complete with loosely operationaliz notions like consciousness, integrity, evil, love, curiosity and grace. Nonetheless, its problems are instructive for the attempt to attribute responsibility to an empirically localized phenomenon.

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Dewey, John. The Public and Its Problems. Chicago: Swallow Press, 1954.

Originally published in 1927, this work offers a pragmatically defined conception of communication and public responsibility. The progressive democratic assumptions are dated, but the definitions and argument remain strong.

Ellul, Jacques. Propoganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes. New York: Vintage Books, 1973.

The ethics of propoganda are discussed on pages xv, xvii, 27, 38, 166-70, 174-175, 197, 217, and 250.

Ellul, Jacques. The Political Illusion. New York: Vintage Books, 1972.

A broad-based analysis and attack mounted against the various "myths" pervading post-Industrial democracy; i.e. that all problems are political, that the populace controls decision-making, etc. Chapter III, "Politics in the World of Images" is particularly relevant to issues of accountability.

Enzensberger, Hans Magnus, The Consciousness Industry. New York: The Seabury Press, 1974.

A radical and somewhat romantic critique of the media's inclusive, consciousness-formation powers. Raises some inadvertent, but important questions of access and the control of propoganda.

Felknor, Bruce. Dirty Politics, New York: Norton, 1966.

In this fascinating sourcebook of examples, the former director of the non-partisan Fair Campaign Practices Committee examines the ethics of political campaigning.

Frohock, Fred M. Normative Political Theory, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974.

A theoretical critique of the moral neutrality aims of contemporary political science. Chapters four and five provide helpful summaries of the methodological problems faced by the attribution of moral responsibility.

Goulding, Phil G. Confirm or Deny. New York: Harper and Row, 1970.

Details government efforts to inform the public about national security matters with good contemporary examples. Goulding was Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs under McNamara and Clifford. Not an apologia,

Friedrich, Carl J., ed. Responsibility, Nomos III. New York: The Liberal Arts Press, 1960. A collection of philosophical and political essays on individual and societal responsibility.

Gouldner, Alvin W. The Dialectic of Ideology and Technology: the origins, grammer, and future of ideology. New York: the Seabury Press, 1976.

Describing himself as a "marxist outlaw," Gouldner explores the procedures by which ideology becomes institutionalized in post-Industrial society. The analysis is dialectical, and the implications, while occasionally obscure, are provocative. Chapters 4 and 5 ("The Communications Revolution: News, Public, and Ideology," and "From the Chicago School to the Frankfurt School,") are particularly relevant.

Grice, H.P. "The Logic of Conversations," unpublished.

A classic manuscript, setting forth the theory of conversational implicature. This theory regards certain assumptions of clarity, order, relevance, and so forth as analytic to our conventional understanding of communication. With modest extension, these assumptions may be useful as criteria for the assesment of responsibility.

Habermas, Jürgen, The Legitimation Crisis, Boston: Beacon Press, 1975.

One of the few indispensable works in the philosophy of communication. Habermas critiques systems theory as insufficient to account for the existence of crises, turns to a reconstituted theory of communication as action in order to supplement the systems view, and renders decision-making elite and media accountable to the membership of social systems for the generation of meaning sufficient to earn public consensus.

Hardin, Charles. Presidential Power and Accountability: Toward a New Constitution. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

Hearings Before the Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities of the United States Senate. Vols. 1-12. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

Johannesen, Richard L. Ethics in Human Communication. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Pub. Co., 1975.

The author explores the decline of confidence in truthfulness in public communication, explains seven perspectives for ethical evaluation (religious, legal, utilitarian, political, ontological, dialogical, situational), discusses twelve basic ethical issues, and presents fourteen examples for analysis. An appendix reprints four complete ethical case studies and a bibliography contains over 180 items.

Ladd, Bruce. Crisis in Credibility. New York: New American Library, 1968.

A documented indictment of the federal executive branch (pre-Watergate era) for lying, unwarranted secrecy, and misleading news manipulation.

Lieberman, Jethro K. How the Government Breaks the Law. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1973.

An extremely useful study with concrete illustrations of Governmental violations, as well as principles which explain them.

Lippmann, Walter. The Public Philosophy. New York: New American Library, 1955.

The classic and now-controversial study by America's foremost philosopher of journalism. Argues that the American public (circa 1952) had become too powerful, preempting the initiative and freedom of the executive branch. McGeorge Bundy is acknowledged for "his very helpful criticism of the text."

Marković, Mihailo. From Affluence to Praxis. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1974.

Though Marxist in its origin and overly programmatic in execution, Markovic's treatise offers a direct assault on the assumption that accountability cannot be institutionalized.

Mueller, Claus. The Politics of Communication. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.

A cogent analysis of distorted communication. Another offshoot of the Frankfurt school, Mueller's treatment of directed, arrested, and constrained communication suggests many contemporary parallels. The applications of Mueller's categories are politically partisan, however.

Nilsen, Thomas R. Ethics of Speech-Communication. 2nd ed. Indianapolis: Bobbs-merrill Co., 1972.

A provocative blend of the political, dialogical, and ontological perspectives for judging the ethics of public and interpersonal communication.

Nimmo, Dan. The Political Persuaders: the Techniques of Modern Election Campaigns. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970.

The standard campaign communication textbook, Nimmo's study of campaign management and public relations techniques is particularly insightful.

Nimmo, Dan. Popular Images of Politics., Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974.

Perhaps written for a broader audience than The Political Persuaders, this work nonetheless documents the increasingly sophisticated image-foundation of contemporary political communication.

Novak, Michael. Choosing our King: Powerful Symbols in Presidential Politics. New York: Macmillan, 1974.

Chapters 29 and 33 examine ethical standards.

Park, Robert E. The Crowd and the Public, trans. by Charlotte Elsner, Chicago: U of Chicago Press, 1972.

Park's doctoral dissertation (1904) recently reprinted. Along with Dewey's early work (op cit.), a seminal treatise on the foundation of consensus politics and collective interest

Quinton, Anthony, ed. Political Philosophy, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967.

A collection of recent work by British analytic philosophers on political theory. Chapter II,"Politics, Philosophy, and Ideology," by Partridge, and Barry's essays (on the "Public Interest," and the "Common Good") are relevant to the assesment of responsibility.

Rank, Hugh, ed. Language and Public Policy. Urbana, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1974.

Contains a number of essays which examine ethical issues related to contemporary use and abuse of discourse in political communication.

Schroyer, Trent. The Critique of Domination. Boston: Beacon Press, 1973.

Another recent treatise from the Frankfurt School, this work is among the clearer expositions of Habermas, and an unusually explicit critique of the communications structure in contemporary America.

Schwartz, Tony. The Responsive Chord. Garden City: Anchor Books, 1973.

The long-awaited ethical implication of McLuhan's communication theory. Schwartz argues that the concept of "truth-telling," is a "print ethic"--rather than a standard for ethical conduct in electronic media, such as political and commercial advertizing on television.

Schmidt, Benno C., Jr. Freedom of the Press Vs. Public Access. New York: Praeger Publ., 1976. Explores the interface between rights of free press and demands for responsible public media.

Searle, John. Speech Acts. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1969.

Among other things, one of the foremost analytic explorations of responsibility attributions. The argument in section 8 on "deriving is from ought" has been subjected to thorough criticism. But it is at least a useful precedent.

Thayer, Lee, ed. Communication: Ethical and Moral Issues. New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1973.

Among essays included are those by such scholars as Jurgen Ruesch, Anatol Rapoport, Hugh D. Duncan, J.L.L. Aranguren, Martin E. Marty, Kenneth Boulding, William Stephenson, Frank E.X. Dance, Lee Thayer, and Kenneth Burke.

Walzer, Michael. Obligations: Essays on Disobediance, War, and Citizenship. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970.

A series of essays sharing a common starting point: i.e. that authority is consensually based. Chapter 1 ("The Obligation to Disobey," and chapter X ("The Problem of Citizenship,") are particularly insightful groundings of responsibility.

Wise, David. The Politics of Lying: Government Deception, Secrecy, and Power. New York: Random House, 1973.

A pre-Watergate analysis of varied ethically suspect communication practices of the Federal government.

Wise, David. The American Police State. New York: Random House, 1976.

A partisan, but well-documented indictment of American intelligence gathering, and law-enforcement agencies.

PERIODICALS and ESSAYS

Brockriede, Wayne. "Arguers as Lovers," Philosophy and Rhetoric, V (Winter, 1972), 1-11.

Through a metaphorical prism, Brockriede characterizes three perspectives of a communicator toward an audience: rape, seduction, and love. Examines the ethical orientation of each type of communication.

Chesebro, James W. "A Construct for Assessing Ethics in Communication." Central States Speech Journal, XX (1969) 104-114

An adaptation of Burke's pentad as a framework for moral assesment of rhetorical communication.

Chesebro, James W. "Political Communication." Quarterly Journal of Speech, LXII (October, 1976),289-300.

A useful overview of several definitional perspectives on political communication.

Day, Dennis G. "The Ethics of Democratic Debate," Central States Speech Journal, XVII (February, 1966), 5-14.

The central ethical standard advocated here is promotion of full confrontation of opposing opinions, arguments, and information relevant to decision-making.

Farrell, Thomas B. "Knowledge, Consensus, and Rhetorical Theory," Quarterly Journal of Speech, LXII (1976) 1-14.

An attempt to locate rhetoric through a type of consensus presumed to be held by the rhetorical audience; an exploration of the moral impulse behind this consensus.

Farrell, Thomas B. "Political Communication; Its Investigation and Praxis," Western Speech Communication Journal XL, no. 2 (1976), 91-103.

An analysis and critique of two instances of political communication praxis: the pragmatic and incrementalist. Each rule-governed matrix of thought is probed for its moral implications and heuristic value.

Finman, Ted, and Stewart Macaulay. "Freedom to Dissent; the Vietnam Protests and the Words of Public Officials." Wisconsin Law Review. Vol. 1966 (1966), pp. 632-723, esp. 694-723.

The authors suggest ethical guidelines to govern statements by government officials which might impair citizens' rights of freedom of expression.

Gouran, Dennis. "Guidelines for the Analysis of Responsibility in Governmental Communication." in Daniel Dieterich, ed., Teaching About Doublespeak. Urbana, Ill: National Council of Teachers of English, 1976. pp. 20-31.

Haiman, Franklyn S. "Democratic Ethics and the Hidden Persuaders," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XLIV (December, 1958), 385-392.

The basic ethical standard promoted here is the degree to which a persuasive technique enhances or undermines the human capacity to reason.

Johannesen, Richard L. "Perspectives on Ethics in Persuasion." In Charles U. Larson, Persuasion: Reception and Responsibility. Belmont, Cal.: Wadsworth, 1973. Chapter 9. Discusses standards and issues relevant for assessing degrees of responsibility in political-governmental communication.

Hook, Sidney. "The Ethics of Controversy." reprinted in Richard L. Johannesen, ed. Ethics and Persuasion: Selected Readings. New York: Random House, 1967. pp. 102-110.

As ethical standards essential to a healthy political system, Hook suggests ten ground rules of controversy in a democracy.

The Monist, January, 1972. Vol. 56, No. 1. General Topic: Philosophy and Public Policy.

While the entire issue is fascinating, the essays by Dworkin ("Paternalism"), Golding ("Obligations to Future Generations,") and McGinn ("Prestige and the Logic of Political Argument") are especially pertinent.

Moran, Terence P. "Public Doublespeak: 1984 and Beyond." College English, 37 (October, 1975), 223-227.

Moran's guidelines for distinguishing genuine communication from pseudocommunication also can be viewed as standards for determining ethicality in political communication.

Nilsen, Thomas R. "Free Speech, Persuasion, and the Democratic Process." Quarterly Journal of Speech. XLIV (October, 1958 235-243.

Nilsen attempts to delineate the values essential to representative democracy and suggests their use as ethical criteria for evaluating political campaign communication.

Rogge, Edward. "Evaluating the Ethics of a Speaker in a Democracy," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XLV (December, 1959), 419-425.

Rogge argues that criteria for ethical assesment vary as factors in the specific speech situation vary, as the urgency for implementation of the speaker's proposal varies and as the leadership role of the speaker varies.

Stewart, Charles J. "Voter Perception of Mud-Slinging in Political Communication," Central States Speech Journal, XXVI, (Winter, 1975), 279-286.

A content analysis which provides insight into citizen perceptions of ethical and unethical campaign persuasion.

Wallace, Karl R. "An Ethical Basis of Communication." Speech Teacher, IV (January, 1955), 1-9.

Based upon an analysis of fundamental democratic values, Wallace advocates four ethical guidelines for assessing

public communication; the habit of search; the habit of justice; the habit of preferring public to private motivations; and the habit of respect for dissent.

White, Ralph K. "Propaganda; Morally Questionable and Morally Unquestionable Techniques," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 398 (1971), 26-35.

White discusses major categories for what he believes are ethical and unethical propoganda appeals.

Prepared Fall 1977 by Richard L. Johannesen and Thomas Farrell, 1977 and 1976 Chairpersons of the Committee on Accountability and Responsibility in Governmental Communication, Speech Communication Association.